

DR. SCOTT,  
The Vigilance Committee  
AND  
THE CHURCH.

A LECTURE BY W. CARROLL,

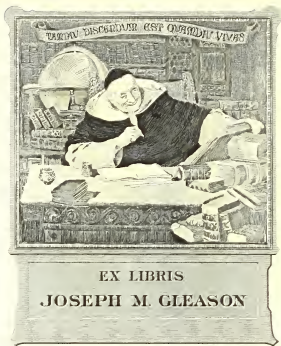
DELIVERED IN MUSICAL HALL, SAN FRANCISCO, OCT. 12, 1856.

(CONTENTS ON THE BACK OF THE PAMPHLET.)

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Others said, 'These are not the words of him that hath a devil; can a devil open  
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151 CLAY STREET, NEAR MONTGOMERY.  
1856.



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JOSEPH M. GLEASON

DR. SCOTT,

The Vigilance Committee

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## TO THE PUBLIC.

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THIS Lecture is not published at the request of any one. My reasons for issuing it are,

1st. To enable all, who have read the vituperations of those who smart under the lashings of truth, to also read what was said, to occasion such vituperation, that they may judge justly and intelligently.

2nd. To enable the public to gain accurate ideas as to my "sanity," which has been feignedly questioned, by both the *Evening Bulletin* and *Post* of San Francisco. If for these words, any one not himself possessed of a devil, (and possibly the editors of those papers are not) shall say of me, "He hath a devil and is mad, why hear ye him," it is a comfort to feel that a better man than either of us was more than once so spoken of and for the same reason; it might be wise to reflect, that possibly a division among the people may take place, and others say, "These are not the words of him that hath a devil," (see x chap. John, 20th and 21st verses, and Mark 3, 21,) and that 2nd Corinthians, v chap. and 13th verse, reads "For whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for your cause."

3rd. Being in debt to a poor man, and at the same time on the eve of being turned out of office for the exercise of my constitutionally guaranteed rights as a free American citizen, I seek to raise from the sale of these pamphlets, funds by which to live and commence a business that will always give *us* food and clothing, wherewith *we* will be content.

# CARROLL'S LECTURE

— ON —

“Dr. Scott, the Vigilance Committee and the Church,”

DELIVERED AT

MUSICAL HALL, SAN FRANCISCO,

OCTOBER 12, 1856.

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The connection between the following selections from scripture and this subject, will appear in the course of the lecture.

The beginning of the lecture is on page 26, although formally, for obvious reasons, on page 11.

A portion of the vi chap. of Matt. reads, “No man can serve two masters ; for either he will hate the one, and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Therefore take no thought saying, what shall we eat? Or, what shall we drink? Or wherewithal shall we be clothed? For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.”

A portion of the x chap. of Mark, reads: “And Jesus answered and said, verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred-fold now in this time, houses and brethren, sisters and mothers, and children and lands, with per-

secutions, and in the world to come eternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last first."

The 25th to 27th verses of the xx chap. of Matt. read: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them, but it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."

Verses 1 to 5 of the vii chap. of Matt. read: "Judge not, that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, 'Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye,' and behold a beam is in thine own eye!"

"Thou hypocrite! First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

The 28th to 31st verses inclusive, of xxi chap. Matt. read: "But what think ye? A certain man had two sons, and he came to the first and said, 'son, go work to-day in my vineyard.'"

"He answered and said, 'I will not,' but afterward he repented and went."

"And he came to the second and said likewise; and he answered and said, 'I go sir,' and went not."

"Whether of these twain did the will of his father?"

Matt. vii chap., from the 15th to the 20th verses, reads as follows:—

"Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits: do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so, every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire.

"Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."

A portion of the v chap. of Matt. reads as follows: "Ye have

heard that it was said by them of old time, thou shalt not commit adultery, but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart! And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee, that *one* of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it *from* thee; for it is profitable for thee, that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

"It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement; but I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery!" [Bold language that for a Christian minister! What business had he to mix up religion with the laws of the land on divorce, or on any other subject? Hanging was too good for such a fanatic! He deserved to be crucified! Such words depict the spirit of many modern Christians.]

Danl. vi. "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom; and over these three presidents, of whom Daniel was first, that the princes might give account unto them, and the king should have no damage. Daniel was preferred above the presidents and princes, because an excellent spirit was in him.

"Then the presidents and princes sought to find occasion against him, concerning the kingdom, but they could find none occasion nor fault, forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any fault found in him. Then said these men:

"We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God."

"Then these presidents and princes assembled together to the king, and said thus unto him: 'King Darius live for ever! All the presidents of the kingdom, the governors, and the princes, the counsellors, and the captains, have counselled together to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm decree, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any god or man, for thirty days,

save of thee O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions. Now, O King, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

“Wherefore King Darius signed the writing and the decree.

“Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house, and his windows being opened in his chamber, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime.

“Then these men assembled, and found Daniel praying and making supplication before his God. Then they came near and spake before the king, concerning the king’s decree.

“Hast not thou signed a decree, that every man that shall ask a petition of any god or man, within thirty days, save of thee O King, shall be cast into the den of lions?

“The king answered and said, ‘The thing is true, according to the laws of the Medes and Persians.’

“Then answered they and said, ‘That Daniel, which is of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee O King, nor the decree that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day.’”

[Mark the honest (!) indignation of those green-eyed, Medo-Persian, political wire-pullers!]

“Then the King when he heard these words, was sore displeased with himself, and set his heart on Daniel to deliver him, and he labored till the going down of the sun to deliver him.”

[Noble old man! noble were thine efforts, but still useless! The hounds had you on the hip! It was ‘unconstitutional’ to revoke the decree!]

How some of our modern divines must admire and worship Darius, not for his noble efforts to save Daniel, but for ‘standing by the constitution,’ even to the loss of his most intimate friend and best counsellor!]

“Then these men assembled unto the King and said,

“‘Know O King, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, that no decree or statute which the King has established may be changed.’

“Then the King commanded, and they brought Daniel and cast him into the den of lions!



"Now the King spake and said unto Daniel, 'Thy God, whom thou servest continually, He will deliver thee!'"

[It would seem as though that oft-called heathen monarch, like old heathen Abraham, had a greater faith in the Almighty God of truth and love, than have many modern leaders in spiritual Israel!]

Danl. chap. viii. "In the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, Daniel, and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai; then I lifted up mine eyes, and behold, there stood before the river a ram, which had two horns; and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other; and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beast might stand before him; neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will and became great."

1st Saml. xvii. "Now the Philistines gathered their army together to battle, and Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched by the valley of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines. And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side, and there was a valley between them. (Perhaps about as wide as Bush street!)

"And there went up a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath of Gath, whose hight was six cubits and a span, and he stood and cried unto the armies of Israel and said unto them,

"'Why are ye come out to set your battle in array, am not I a Philistine, and ye servants to Saul? Choose ye a man for you, and let him come down to me; if he be able to fight with me and to kill me, then will we be your servants, but if I prevail against him, and kill him, then shall ye be our servants and serve us. I defy the armies of Israel this day! Give me a man that we may fight together.'

"When Saul and all Israel heard these words, they were dismayed, and greatly afraid.

"Now David was the son of Jesse, who had eight sons, and the three eldest went to follow Saul to the battle; and their names were Eliab, Abinadab, and Shammah, and David was

the youngest, and went and returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.

"And Jessie said unto David, 'Take now for thy brethren this parched corn, and these loaves to thy brethren, and carry these cheeses to the captain of their thousand, and take their pledge.' (I suppose receipt.)

"And David rose up early in the morning and left the sheep with the keeper, and went as Jessie had commanded him; and he came to the trench as the host was going forth to the fight and shouted for the battle. And David left his carriage (the stuff he had been carrying) in the hand of the keeper, and ran into the army and saluted his brethren, and as he talked with them behold, there came up the champion Goliath, and spake the same words.

"And David heard them!

"And all the men of Israel, when they saw the man, fled from him and were sore afraid, and said to David, 'Have ye seen this man that is come up, surely to defy Israel, he is come, and it shall be, that the man who killeth him, the king will enrich with great riches, and will give him his daughter, and will make his father's house free in Israel.'

"And David spake to the men saying, 'who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God?'

"And Eliab, his eldest brother heard him; and his anger was kindled against David, and he said, 'Why camest thou down hither, and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness; I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart!'

"And David said, 'What have I now done, IS THERE NOT A CAUSE?'

"And when the words were heard, which David spake, they rehearsed them before Saul, and he sent for him.

"And David said to Saul, 'Let no man's heart fail because of *him*, thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine!'

"And Saul said unto David, 'Thou art not able to go against this Philistine, and fight with him, for thou art but a youth, and he a man of war from his youth.'

"And David said unto Saul, 'Thy servant kept his father's

sheep, and there came a lion and a bear and took a lamb out of the flock, and I went out after him, and delivered it out of his mouth; and when he arose against me I caught him by his beard, and smote and slew him. Thy servant slew both the lion and the bear, and this uncircumcised Philistine, shall be as one of them, seeing he has defied the armies of the living God. The Lord that delivered me out of the paw of the lion and the bear, He will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine.'

"And Saul said unto David, 'Go, and the Lord be with thee.' And he took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the brook and put them in a shepherd's bag.

Sling in hand he drew near unto the Philistine! and the Philistine drew near unto David! And when he looked about and saw only David, he disdained him for he was but a youth. And he said unto David,

"'Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves.'

"And the Philistine cursed David by his gods. Then said David to the Philistine,

"'Thou comest to me with a sword and with a spear, and with a shield, but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied. This day will the Lord deliver thee into mine hands, and I will smite thee, and take thine head from thee, and I will give the carcasses of the hosts of the Philistines this day unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the earth, that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel. And all this assembly shall know that the Lord saveth not with the sword and spear, for the battle is the Lord's, and he will give you into our hands.'

"And David put his hand into his bag and took thence a stone, and slang it, and smote the Philistine in the forehead, that the stone sank into his forehead, and he fell upon his face upon the earth."

1st Corinthians, ix. chap. 26th verse reads, "So fight I, not as one that beateth the air," and Paul elsewhere says, "for we wrestle against spiritual wickedness in high places." (Ephes. vi. 12.)

Matt. v. chap. 9th to 12th verse inclusive, reads, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

“Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven!

“Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for *great* is your reward in heaven! For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.”

# LECTURE.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

You have convened this evening, to listen to a lecture upon the relation which the Church ought to have borne to the Vigilance Committee, in its inception and whilst in operation. This lecture is provoked by the circumnavigating letter of the Rev. Mr. Scott, which I presume you have all read. I here insert it.

(From the Philadelphia Presbyterian.)

## THE CHURCH AND LYNCH LAW.

To the Editors of the *Pacific* of San Francisco.

MESSRS. EDITORS—It is with the deepest grief and mortification that I have read your articles since the beginning of the present most unhappy excitement in San Francisco, and especially your article of the 12th June, "The Church and the Crisis." The article is in the style and manner following:—

### "THE CHURCH AND THE CRISIS.

"One of the most marked features of the present movement, in this State, is the unanimity with which the clergy have approved of it, and the churches have engaged in it. With scarcely a single exception in the whole State, the pastors have approved of the action of the Committee. Most of them have preached on the subject. They have animated the people to go forward in the reform, as the work of religion—the work of God.

"It is not a new thing for the Church to be found in the van of great revolutions. Its mission is one for human rights, and the good of mankind. Who does not know that that eloquent preacher Robert Hall, delivered one of his most sublime discourses to a company of volunteers going to fight in defence of the liberties of their country? Who does not know that in the American Revolution, Jonathan Edwards, the most scrupulous spirit of the age, preached and prayed in behalf of the Revolution? Who does not remember that Dwight preached to companies of armed volunteers, and animated them to engage in their holy work? The case is no wise changed when the enemies of popular rights are internal instead of external, and when all constitutional means have failed of subduing them.

"The Church throughout the State is with this movement. It is part of her religion to make pure the body politic. It is a part of her religion to maintain, though at danger and cost, the freedom of speech, and the sacredness of constitutional and native rights, against every usurper, whether it be a king, or the dangerous, mean robber of the ballot-box. It is an object with the enemies of this movement, to misrepresent the position of the Church. They have not attempted it, save in a single instance, unworthy of notice. Of all the ministers of this State, we know of only one

or two who have not expressed themselves favorable to the action of the Committee; and nearly every one of these has preached upon the subject. And the Roman Catholic priests, if not in favor of the Committee, are not advocates of armed opposition against it."

It is after this manner, and even in a more inflammatory style, that the recent numbers of the *Pacific* are chiefly filled. You have repeatedly urged on the Vigilance Committee, and called upon them to do even more than they have done. There has been much more about the Committee, and in favor of overturning our Constitutional laws, by banishing and hanging some of our citizens, in the recent numbers of your so-called religious newspaper, than there has been of Christ and him crucified. Now, it is not for me to attempt to control your journal, nor to dictate what you shall publish; but I beg the permission to say to you—*First*, that if you had confined your remarks in behalf of the proceedings of the Vigilance Committee to yourselves, and to your own denomination, then, though grieved, I should have kept silent. But you assume to speak for the *Church of Christ*, and again and again commit it and the ministers of the gospel, with only one or two exceptions, to the anomalous and lawless movements that have distracted our city for the last two months. And *secondly*, I address myself to you because, as editors, you are before the world as public men, and as the conductors of a professedly religious paper, you are teachers of Christianity; and as leaders of the people and preachers of the gospel of Jesus Christ, you have no small responsibility to share for urging on the people to contravene the established laws of the land. It is the opinion of some of the most intelligent men of this city, that the example of the ministers which you commend, and the cry of the press of this city for blood, have contributed greatly to our present disorganized state. The newspapers that have labored most violently, and called the loudest for the reign of lawlessness, have quoted the *religious papers* as sanctioning their course, and in support of the movement. Now if the religious teachers and leaders of the people have set such an example, the people are almost excusable.

But *thirdly*, I am constrained to address you, because at your request I have been a frequent contributor to your columns, and have done what I could to increase its circulation on this coast as a *religious* paper. And because I have done so a necessity is now laid on me to express my dissent from your views.

And *fourthly*, I address you by the way of Philadelphia, because I wish to escape, as much as possible, from local prejudices and momentary excitements, and to speak of principles and things beyond the influence of passion. It is undeniable that the present is a moment of intense excitement, and it does not seem probable that anything said or published here at this time would do any good. But I am not without the earnest hope that by the time my earnest protest shall reach you by way of Philadelphia, that the day of reason will have again dawned upon our city, and that sound principles will be likely again to resume their sway.

And *fifthly*, I address you through the *Presbyterian*, because, however humble my name may be, I feel that I owe it to my brethren in the ministry in the Atlantic States, and throughout Christendom, to let them know that I am not included in the number of pastors who have incited their congregations to aid in the overturning of the laws of the land.

"And *sixthly*, I address you after this style, because I have endeavored to follow with you the Saviour's rule in regard to an offending brother. I have remonstrated with you; I have written private letters to the principal editor; but all in vain. The columns of the *Pacific*, which the friends of Christ here and in the East have been endeavoring to establish and sustain as an organ of Christianity, still teem with effusions in behalf of violence to our laws, and call for the banishment of citizens—a punishment unknown to our Constitution and fundamental laws—and still call for blood and for the progress of "the Revolution."

Under these circumstances nothing is left to me but to protest, and let my friends know that the *Pacific* does not represent the principles that I hold, and which I believe to be according to the Bible and the Constitution. You say, that "of all the ministers of this State, we know of only one or two who have not expressed themselves favorable, and nearly every one has preached upon the subject." "With scarcely a single exception in the whole State, the pastors have approved of the action of the Committee. Most of them have preached on the subject. They have animated the people to go forward in the reform, as the work of religion—the work of God." And again, you say, "it is not a new thing for the Church to be found in the van of great revolutions." "The Church throughout the State is with this movement," &c. Now,

1. I hope you are mistaken, and that it will be found that I am not left absolutely alone. There may not be seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal, but I trust I am not alone. Other ministers, however, have the same privileges that I have, and are quite as able to speak for themselves. It happened that I was absent in the mountains when Mr. King was killed and the insurrection began. Casey and Cora were hanged before I returned home. I left the city in peace, and after an absence of two weeks I returned and found it in arms. On my return I was told the religious newspapers are in favor of the revolution; the clergy of the city are all, or nearly all, on the side of the Vigilance Committee. I was told that I must pray for the Committee, and preach in their behalf, and that if my sentiments against them were known, I should "lose my congregation." All this, and much more of a like character, is true; but I cannot still believe that it is right to pledge the Church of Christ to any such proceedings.

2. Are you, gentlemen, correct, when you assign the Church "the van of great revolutions?" Is it really a part of our holy religion to contravene our established laws and courts of justice? Does the Church teach us to defy the chief magistrate of the State, and mock at his proclamation, and to assume the administration of such power as executes the highest penalties, and to rule over the city by a secret, self-appointed, irresponsible, but armed and powerful association? If so, I have certainly failed altogether to apprehend the true nature and mission of the Christian Church. I thought its founder was the Prince of Peace, and that his kingdom was not of this world—that it consisted of righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Nor have I ever found a single text in the Bible authorizing disobedience to the civil magistrate. On the contrary we are commanded to obey our rulers, even when they are as wicked as Caligula or Nero. Nor can I find where the Church has any commission to put herself in the van of any other revolution than that of preaching peace to all nations, through the blood of Christ. I certainly yet have to learn, either from Church, history or from the New Testament, that the Church has any commission to drive men from vice by the bayonet, or to exile them from their homes and native land by the fiat of a Vigilance Committee. I know not where the pastors who "have preached in favor of the Vigilance Committee," and have "animated their people to go forward" in its support, "as the work of religion, the work of God," could find a text. Whence did they obtain their commission? Is it in their "marching orders" to go and preach the gospel to every creature? Or is there a single word in the New Testament, or a single act of Jesus Christ that authorizes his followers to show the slightest disrespect to the civil authorities? I certainly know of none. His whole life is against such conduct.

3. Are you not also mistaken in calling this "work of God" "a great revolution?" The wisest advocates of the Lynch law system now prevailing, as far as I know, deny that there is any revolution. If we are in a revolution, what is it for? It is true, our city has been badly governed. Corruption, vice and bloodshedding have prevailed to an alarming extent. But still it is not contended that our fundamental laws must be altered or even amended. They are admitted to be good, but said to be badly administered. It is hardly true, however, that the officers of the law were more corrupt and unfaithful here than in other cities. And it is hard to reconcile the plea of necessity for the organization of the Vigilance Committee with the improvement that we have been constantly told has been made in society? What is the influence of our Lyceums, Mercantile Library, and Mechanical Associations, of our public schools and our *thirty-one* churches, with their Sabbath schools, if now the city cannot be governed without a Lynch law court? You may depend upon it, this kind of proceeding contradicts all our statements as to our improvement in morals and in religion. This is a terrible blow to California throughout all civilized nations. And to my mind it is perfectly preposterous to contend that the many thousands of men and money wielded by the Committee, could not have secured in a lawful manner the purity of our elections and the faithful execution of the laws as far as perfection in such things can be obtained in human courts. If they could not, then our republican institutions are a failure. Indeed, I have not yet seen a plea in justification of mob law that is not a blow at Republicanism.

4. But, reverend brethren, what is this "work of God" that you have so often advocated, and that you tell the world the Church and her ministers are carrying forward? Was it to call worshippers from the house of God on the Lord's day, and to march to the jail, and by the prestige of French soldiers, and other armed aliens, as well as of armed citizens, overawe the Sheriff, and take some of the prisoners out of his hand? Was it the "work of God" to condemn these prisoners to death, and then to hang them

out of the windows of a warehouse, converted for the time into a fortress, with dungeons, and cells, and iron hand-cuffs, and all the direful enginery of death? Do you teach that it is the "work of God" to hold a military fortress in the heart of a peaceful commercial city, and to erect barricades in the street, and plant cannon so as to command the public thoroughfares, and to fill the streets with armed men, infantry and cavalry, to visit the homes of our citizens in the dead hours of night, and drag fathers from their beds to dungeons, and to banish them from their country, and to do all this without any legal authority whatever? Nay, more; to do all this, and much more of the same sort, not only without lawful authority, but in direct violation of the proclamation of the Chief Magistrate of the State, and in violation of the sacred rights secured to us by the constitution and laws of the United States and of the State of California. I have been taught that ministers of Christ are ambassadors of peace, whose weapons of war were not carnal, but spiritual. If it were even so then, that I stand *alone* on this coast, I cannot help it. I cannot preach what the word of God forbids. And surely there is not a word in the Bible that teaches Christians to rebel against the legal authorities of a free Christian land. It may be I have no power to do anything more than to *protest* against your placing the Church of Christ in any such position. And I protest against your teaching church members to support Lynch law, or to show any disrespect to the constitutional authorities of the land. Nor are there bayonets enough in the State, nor gold enough in its mountains, to compel me to introduce such themes into my humble pulpit ministrations. The Bible teaches nothing more plainly than that the laws of the land are God's ordinances, and must be obeyed as such. The Bible teaches nothing if it does not require Christians to be a law abiding people. The early Christians conquered by submitting even to tyrants. To me it seems that political ranting has well nigh destroyed the influence of the American pulpit. I would not have the responsibility that rests upon such ministers as have left their appropriate duties of preaching *Christ crucified*, and peace on earth, and have excited their hearers to dissension and insurrection, a disregard for the laws of the land, and to mob violence, and the use of Sharp's rifles, for all the gold or fame of the world.

5. It is marvellous how you can find an analogy between some mere local corruptions in San Francisco, and the causes of the English revolution of 1688, or of the American revolution of 1776, or of the wars of Great Britain in the days of Robert Hall. In 1688, and in 1776, and in the days of Cromwell, there was no way to obtain redress but by revolution. Fundamental laws had to be obtained. Great fundamental rights and principles, both as to civil liberty and religious, had to be secured by force. The government was not then, as now, in the hands of the people. They had not the right of making their own laws, and of electing their own officers. Nor was there then, as now with us, a *constitutional way to change or amend our laws, and to remove unfaithful officers*. There is no analogy or resemblance in the cases. With us, if the laws do not reach the evil, let the people, in a constitutional way, make laws that will reach it. The wrongs complained of in a popular government, cannot make it right or expedient to paralyze all law. *It is law, and not lawlessness, we want*. Our government, as Chief Justice Marshall has said, is "one of laws, and not of men." It is the people, but the people embodied in a written constitution, and in written laws made in pursuance of that constitution. So ample and so specific is the method prescribed in our constitution, and in our laws, for amending or changing them, that it is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that a *revolution by force is impossible*. See decision in 7 Howard's Report, in the Rhode Island affair. It must be so; for if there is not a constitutional way of correcting the abuses of popular governments, they cannot stand.

Then as an humble and unworthy minister, of the gospel of the free grace of God, occupying in his providence an outpost of civilization and of Christianity, I would acquit myself in my own conscience and in the eyes of the Christian world, so far as it shall have knowledge of these things, by bearing this my testimony against all Lynch law, and in favor of the supremacy of the laws of our republican country. I protest, then, against your repeated committals of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the measures carried out by the Vigilance Committee in violation of the laws of the land. I protest, also, against your making the pulpit their advocate. As ministers, we have a more sublime theme—to show unto the people the way of salvation. And I protest against your teaching Christian men, whatever others may do, to leave the Sabbath-school and the prayer-meeting to engage in overturning the established laws of the land, even on the plea of purifying society.

Finally, as to the great Robert Hall's preaching to soldiers, it were well for us to remember that they were not citizens armed to trample under foot the laws of the land—armed to arrest citizens, and haul them before a Lynch law court and try them



in secret, and condemn them, and exile or hang them without a trial by jury, as the Constitution directs. They were, if I recollect correctly, soldiers armed to repel an expected invasion of England by Napoleon. I have not the vanity to compare myself to the great Briton, nor the "most seraphic spirit of his age," Jonathan Edwards; nor with the eloquent President Dwight, whom you name; but I venture to say with a profound veneration for these great men, that there is nothing in their lives or works that is favorable to Lynch law or mob violence. And also, that though I have not preached in favor of the people taking the laws into their own hands, nor encouraged my congregation to do "the work of God" by disregarding all constitutional authority; yet I venture to say that I have preached according to my ability, more frequently before "armed volunteers" than either of them, and probably oftener than all of them ever did. And I am ready to do so again, when, as in their days, our volunteers shall be armed to go forth against the enemies of their country, and to repel invaders upon our soil. But the case is wholly "changed" when it is brother against brother, and an American city is in arms against the chief magistrate of the State. I cannot preach in favor of governing this fair city by the cannon's mouth. My platform is the *Bible* and the *Constitution* and the *Union*, just as they are.

Very respectfully yours,

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 4, 1856.

W. A. SCOTT.

Let me here state, that I am not so vain and foolish as to fancy this audience compliments any other man than the Rev. gentleman under review, and more the Vigilance Committee than him, for I am unknown to the public, nor can I hope to do full justice to this important subject, upon this, my first attempt to address an adult audience, in so public and peculiar a manner.

The fact that a mere untitled boy, should announce that *he* will review the great Rev. William A. Scott, who has been made a D. D. of by an honored College, and who is admitted to be one of the ablest and most profound thinkers, and powerful speakers, not only on this coast, but throughout the English-tongued world, argues not only boldness, but something else. It may be conceit, or possibly conviction. It bids fair to earn me the title of *irreverend*, which would be accurately expressive of the fact. Nature made me with a deep hollow in the top of my cranium, and phrenologists have pointed me out as a curious case of deficiency, in the bump of reverence. Yet I do reverence and worship the Almighty God, but no one less.

Since announcing this lecture, I have been waited upon by numerous friends, some expressing doubts as to my ability to do justice to the subject. To such I have of course confessed to similar doubts, and have solicited them to obtain a better and older man to relieve me. They have failed to do so, and being fully persuaded that the thing ought to be done by *some* one, able or not able, throwing myself upon your indulgence, reflecting that if I make a total failure, still no one but myself will be heavily damaged, and that I will only have bored

you with a sermon which you might otherwise have been forced to listen to elsewhere, I appear before you as an advocate of truth.

### A QUARREL WITH MR. BRAYTON.

Having been placed in a false position before a portion of the reading public of San Francisco, by the editor of the *Evening Post*, here let me say, that this lecture is not only unprompted by the editors of the *Pacific*, but is delivered in direct contrariety to the advice of the Rev. Mr. Brayton, who in his over sensitiveness, lest it should seem to the public that *he* had prompted me to fight his battles, uttered an absolute falsehood\* in print, which I feel bound to correct in the very beginning of this lecture, as he apparently is resolved not to in his paper, although respectfully, repeatedly and earnestly solicited by myself to do so, and which he promised to do as I understood him.

When I first advertised this review, in speaking of myself, I employed the words "Mr. Carroll, of the *Pacific* and *Evening Post*," in both of which papers the Rev. Mr. Brayton is the editor. This displeased Mr. Brayton. I presume he felt a little like scripture David's big brother Eliab, whom we read about awhile since, when David asked, "who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God?" I judge so, from the fact that he asked almost the identical question of Eliab, viz. "Why camest thou down hither, and with whom hast thou left the sheep? (I was formerly *juvenile* editor of the *Pacific*.) Am I not able to fight my own battles, that you must advertise a lecture, and go in savagely, stealing my mantle?" He did not say so, but doubtless he thought within himself, "I know the pride and naughtiness of thy heart, and I'll fix you off by editorially whipping you, and afterwards severely letting you alone, or talking kindly and patronizingly of you," as he did last evening. (Oct. 11.)

These modest questions he published, along with the gratuitous falsehood, that the only relation I held to the *Pacific* and *Evening Post*, was that of a *contributor*(!); but lest I do him injustice, I insert what he said in the *Evening Post* of Oct. 3d.

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\* See Appendix A.

## MR. W. CARROLL.

An advertisement of a lecture by Mr. Carroll, upon Dr. Scott's letter to the *Pacific*, appeared in our columns last evening, in a shape quite objectionable to ourselves and which we should have required to be changed, had we seen it. It spoke of "Mr. Wm. A. Scott, sometimes called doctor." We would state in behalf of Mr. Carroll, who wears a white, broad-brimmed hat, that this was not an intentional disrespect, but only a sticking out of his quakerism. Another objectionable point is that Mr. Carroll announces himself as 'of the *Pacific* and *Evening Post*.' This unqualified statement would make us a party to the lecture. We are in no wise responsible for it. We wish no other to answer our letters for us. We will speak for ourselves. Mr. Carroll is a man *sui generis*. He holds no relation to this paper or the *Pacific*, save that of a contributor. We have allowed him the utmost license, because we believe in free speech."

I can believe the last part of this kind and well-meant article, for he himself takes the greatest latitude in speaking, that a clergyman ever ought, viz. that of departing from the truth. However, it was *his* paper, and I presume he desired in this as in other ways, to give me a gentle hint, which I have taken. I have written the last article for that sheet until I own it by honorable purchase.

I hold in my hand, press copies and original letters, among which is an article of agreement, dated July 10th, 1856, signed, not in the presence of witnesses, as I now regret, by which I was made editor of the Juvenile and School department of the *Pacific*, without pay or prospect of it, and at the solicitation of Mr. B., I sustained, by a verbal understanding, a corresponding relation to the *Evening Post*, for which relation and its sequences, it will yet appear, I am to be removed from a position which is my present sole reliance for support, worth \$3,000 a year, with opportunity for mental improvement.

But for the fact that I was an editor in the *Pacific*, at the time when the "Dr. Scott letter" was dated, (Aug. 4.) it would never have occurred to me, to *assume* the bold stand I have upon this occasion. Mr. Scott spoke of writing to the *principal* editor of the *Pacific*. Mr. Blakesly is the other one, to whom doubtless reference was by implication had, and so I understood it at the time; but I resolved to let it be known to San Francisco, for the benefit of the papers I was the Juvenile editor of, that there were *three* editors, and moreover, that there was a good portion of the paper devoted to the school interest.

I have repeatedly urged Mr. B. so to square himself in his daily paper, that he would have the power to make written articles of agreement with me, to show conclusively what my

relation to the paper is, but he has avoided doing so. Why, others must judge.

I make this explanation after patiently enduring from him what I would not from any one whom I respect less highly, *not* from ill will, but to remove a prejudice from the minds of some of my audience, which would otherwise detract from the effect of what I say.

I desire to guard you against forming a wrong opinion of Mr. B.; I have not called him a *liar*; he has simply, and without much guilt, told a singular falsehood, (for the accurate definition of which word I refer you to Webster,) and has abstained from retracting it, after promising to do so. I am persuaded, that at the time he penned the article just read, over-sensitiveness had dethroned one large element of a sane mind, viz., memory. That his heart is all right is evident, not only from the kind spirit of the article itself, but from a note of the next day, which opens with "Dear Brother;" and I trust mine is too, although I penned one of the same date, concluding with "no longer yours, &c."

### A FATHER'S REBUKE.

But Mr. Brayton's opposition was a trifle, compared with that of others. My proud-spirited, tender father, whose hairs are beginning to gray with age, resident in Philadelphia, has written me in reply to my avowal to him of a religious conviction of duty, and consequent *determination* no longer to be a slave to party for the sake of bread and butter, and an honorable post in the government, a most touching, exciting, and almost heart-broken letter, urging, beseeching, and entreating me to desist, and aiming to convert me to a "law and order" man, and to get me to show deference, if not respect, for the Democratic Party.

My father is wise. He has *found* the world to be a hollow and hypocritical thing—that self-interest sways—that a disinterested act is either misconstrued, unappreciated, or soon forgotten. Young as I am I have learned that too. But what follows? Must I be *as* the world I mourn over and despise? Must my guiding star be interest too? Must my pocket rule me, or must the fear that a noble wife, and possibly tender infant, may weep bitter tears over the "folly" of a husband and a father, induce me to judge of right and wrong through dollars and cents, as I

have been broadly told I should by a man who stands high in the church, in the estimation of his fellow men, and in the Executive of the Vigilance Committee? Must I be guilty of the same littleness, or weakness, that all San Francisco now believes a great and learned man has been, and truckle and slink before the loss of *visible* means of earning food, and I yet *dream* I am a Christian? Is there no conscience within me, whose prompt and uncalculating decisions are to be regarded as the voice of God in the soul? Is my "quakerism" to be confined to my broad brimmed hat, and my own soul despise itself? Where is my faith in God, and my faith in truth, nobility, justice, boldness, transparency, child-likeness, and honest naturalness? Where?

Here, sirs and ladies, here! It is in my soul, and God helping me, it will stay there!

Truth, duty, and sound principle sometimes must lead us counter to even parental advice, and often in the teeth of self-interest. The staunch and ultra principles of Jesus Christ, which are but poorly taught and illustrated in the Christian church of the present day, will *now* often array a son against his father, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law.

### OPPOSITION OF FRIENDS.

The advice of my nearest and best friends, whom I *know* would not advise me to my hurt, has been also given against this lecture; and members of Calvary church and congregation, whom I highly respect, have joined in the solicitation. Several members of the Executive Vigilance Committee have expressed their views adversely to the wisdom of delivering the review, and I hereby disclaim all instigation from that body.

### FEDERAL OPPOSITION.

I was giving way in heart, and was about to abandon it, when a man high in authority in the FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, sought to frighten or intimidate me, and I resolved at once *not* to back down. My sole supports till then—and I should never have looked for better—were a noble wife, and the God of liberty, and here I stand, and in their name and by their authority, and that of a bold and consciously honest man, I speak to you, be-

lieving confidently that in at least a *few* hearts I will find response, when in the words of bold young David to his elder brother, I reply to one and all:

“*Is there not a cause?*”

This you may regard as my major text.

## CORRUPTION OF THE PRESS.

But before I go on I have yet to *begin* to expose, and direct public attention to the lamentable corruption of our public Press.

When threatened by the officer to whom I have referred, I immediately wrote out the facts for publication in the *Evening Bulletin*, and took them to the editorial room.

*Thomas S. King* refused to publish them, not, as he told me, because of the length of the communication, or its personality—not because of its literary defects—not because it was not of interest and importance to the people, but because *I had once said and published, that the EVENING BULLETIN, under his control, is not a virtuous paper!*

It is true, I did say so, and since making that assertion I have had no reason to change my opinion, but on the contrary much to confirm it, and so I told him. When I shall have gathered a little more evidence, I think it will be my duty to announce a lecture on the birth, growth, life, and death of the *Evening Bulletin*. Yet if its defects be reformed I will not.

I am both indignant and mortified! *Indignant*, that the editor (!) of the most widely circulated sheet on the Pacific coast would allow his personal antipathies to suppress a matter that might involve, nay, that probably *will* involve the lives and pecuniary interests of hundreds of our best citizens, and allow a foul blot to cover that page of American history, written by the virtuous anomaly of the nineteenth century, and of the Christian era; I mean by the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856!

I was *mortified*, to think that such a school-boy—such a child—such a baby—such a cur—nay, such a pup, should disgrace that high seat that James King of Wm.—honor to the very name!—made more renowned than that of General Winfield *Scott*, the hero, not of battle-sermons, but of our nation's battles!

Turned from the doors of the *Bulletin*, I took it to the *Atta*.

They would not publish it without the privilege of altering it ; but finally I took it to the *Chronicle*, where Mr. Wm. L. Newell was willing to receive it as an *advertisement*, and charge me only \$30 ; but through the influence of Mr. Kingsbury, the editor, they knocked off \$25 from the price, and so the thing got printed as an advertisement, and *among* advertisements. Yet I venture to say that not more than two hundred men in San Francisco have read it, nor do I know that a single, so called Vigilance Committee paper, besides the *Bulletin*, has even noticed it ; and its motive in doing so is none other than that of business policy, as I have better reason for thinking than most of my audience would imagine.

Resolved to publish it in *some* way I read it now :

#### THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE— THOSE SECRET INSTRUCTIONS.

How far an honorable man is warranted in publicly reciting an officially personal conversation, is a matter of doubt in my mind, but the importance of this subject seems to outweigh minor doubts of propriety, just as much as right does etiquette. It is fraught with interest and moment, not only locally, to the members of the Vigilance Committee, but to all who sympathize with them, and with genuine Democracy, liberty and independence, blended with virtue, throughout the world. I am resolved, therefore, to hold back nothing.

The special agent of the Federal Government on this coast, (Mr. J. Ross Browne, who is personally a friend I highly esteem,) yesterday threatened to *suspend me from office*, if I persist in lecturing upon Dr. Scott, and the Vigilance Committee, as I have announced I will do. On this subject I trust even a long communication, narrating what was said, and *how*, will find space in your columns. By request of Mr. Browne, I called upon him at the Custom House, and being closeted, the following conversation, in substance, took place.

Mr. B.—“I have heard numerous complaints about your connection with an evening paper, which is opposed to the policy, if not principles, of the Democratic party, and of the Administration at Washington.”

“I have been connected with an evening paper, as a writer for the children, and I have likewise contributed communications of a more serious nature. I wrote to the Treasury Department, giving information of that fact, and also that I received and will receive no pay for my services.”

Mr. B.—“But you have offended very many prominent Democrats, who have complained bitterly to me to stop you, and have you removed. I have not seen all that you have written, but I have a portion. I was shown an advertisement of a lecture, that you announce to deliver, reviewing Dr. Scott on the Vigilance Committee.”

“Yes, sir, I intend to deliver that lecture, and the name, W. Carroll, is the one which I assume in print and lecturing.”

Mr. B.—“Well sir, in accordance with instructions from Washington, I must forbid you, whilst you are an officer of the Government, on duty, from delivering that lecture.”

He then read about as follows, mentioning that Collector Latham and Superintendent Lott had, among others, received similar instructions. It will be seen that the Young Men's Democratic Club is not alone, but is decidedly *National* in its party.

*Instructions.*—“Mr. Browne you are required to dismiss from the service of the government all who are opposed to the principles of the Democratic party, and particularly all who *sympathize* with the unlawful organization which has arrayed itself in defiance of the constituted authorities of the State. No man who would aid in opposing the law, and its formally constituted officers, can be retained in Federal employ, nor can any officer.” The signature was not given.

Mr. B. then continued—"Now, Mr. Wiegand, I deem it only fair to tell you, that in two months you will inevitably be removed from office, and I think it your duty, as a gentleman, if you intend to deliver that lecture, which I *suppose* (!) will favor the Vigilance Committee, to resign your post as a Government officer."

"I respect your views upon all subjects, Mr. Browne, even as to my duty as a gentleman, but I respect my rights as an American citizen, and my duties as an officer even yet more highly—I will *not* resign. When Mr. Fremont is elected, as he certainly will be, I *will* then resign, if not removed before; but the Democratic party must *turn me out*, I *will not* resign."

Mr. B.—"You are taking improper and singular grounds. It is the understanding, when any man is appointed to office by the administration, that he holds to and will support the views and measures of the party in power."

"I never so agreed, and I never will. I regard myself as the officer of the American nation, and am responsible, in bond, for my right discharge of duty to the Government, according to law; but I am notwithstanding a free man. I will advocate and support what views as an American citizen, I entertain, as I have a right to, and I will support none others."

Mr. B.—"But to review Dr. Scott on the Vigilance Committee *now*, is very inopportune and unwise. The excitement has all died away, and people are returning to old, well established and wholesome rules of action. Dr. Scott's views are known, and if you review them whilst you are yet an officer of the government, you will only stir up and excite the people (great bugbears, those people!) afresh, which would be *particularly* unfortunate *just now*."

"Mr. Browne, although I feel it my religious and political duty to oppose the national success of the Democratic party, as far and as powerfully as I can consistently with my other official and social duties, still I foresaw the *impropriety* (not *wrong*) of my either so writing or speaking over my proper name whilst yet a government officer; hence, partly, I assumed that of W. Carroll."

Mr. B.—"But when you come out before two or three hundred people to lecture, do you mean to tell me that you, the officer, will not be there, and be recognized as such?"

"Yes sir—I assert that only Mr. Carroll will speak, whilst I will not be in the room as an officer. The administration might construe *that* into disrespect!"

"Well, there is no use in discussing the matter; if you intend after this, to give that lecture, I'll suspend you from office!"

"I think you can't do it, sir."

"Yes, I can, sir."

"Will you suspend my pay at the same time?"

"I don't know about that, but I'll talk over the matter with Superintendent Judge Lott."

"How will I know when I am suspended, sir?"

"Through the Superintendent."

"When do you want an answer to the request not to lecture?"

"To-morrow."

"You shall have it sir. I desire not to act impulsively, but of this I am resolved—I will act in strict accordance with true theory and sound moral principles. Good day, sir."

What I will do! I am resolved to lecture. This, Mr. Browne, and *thus* is my answer! Go show it to your masters! Do your very best and worst! I defy you! I dare you to suspend me! As you value the electoral vote of California for Buchanan, you *dare* not! Moreover, you cannot. I hold my office without giving new bonds, until March 3d, 1857, if not removed by the President sooner. You are an agent of the administration, but as you have confessed, without powers. You are an eye, (I will not say spy, for I respect you,) and not an arm. The Constitution of the United States confers no authority on the President to delegate the appointing and removing power even to his own mother, much less to you. Be careful, sir, that you do not remove yourself by your assurance. Your commission cannot give you the powers you so childishly flourish over my head, like an overseer his whip. If the great (!) Democratic party, commences a petty persecution of a young and poor man, it only glaringly shows that she seeks game. If the first gun against California is to lay me low, as did the first official shot strike down Gov. Reeder, of Kansas, I will feel honored by the removal, for whatever else I may not be, I am a *man*, a CALIFORNIAN, and an AMERICAN, and moreover I "sympathize" with the past action of the Vigilance Committee.



"Fellow citizens of California, that large Appropriation Bill for the Army, about which the same session of Congress was called, was not passed to simply pay officers and soldiers at the regular stations and forts of our frontiers, neither alone to quell popular sovereignty in Kansas—but to crush popular sovereignty in California! To crush the *Vigilance Committee*! Fellow Democrats arouse you! Awake to facts! Live or die, sink or swim, survive or perish, I go for human liberty, and for *resistance to tyrants*, be they formally and legally elected, or *informally* or unfairly stuffed, counted, or in any wise lied in; be they usurpers of power, or be they heirs to thrones! Californians arouse you! *Shake off the shackles of Party*! Divorce yourselves from a name, and prove to yourselves, to the world, and to history, that you still are *men*—that you still are FREE!"

Since that conversation I have received a corresponding written protest from Mr. Browne, which substantiates my assertion, and makes his denial impossible. I will not now read it all; I want to save my throat and your time, and not talk more about myself and troubles, in giving this lecture, than about the false positions which I hope to review; nor would I indulge in this way at all if I were alone concerned, and if these things were not connected with the lecture itself; but I will quote one clause from his letter that betrays a yet deeper depth of political foulness and rottenness, than even I was prepared to believe, which denies to American citizens the right to *speak* freely and fully what they feel about the *head* of the dominant political party, provided they are in government employ! But here are his words:

"An article \* \* \* \* has been placed in my hands to-day, the authorship of which you \* \* \* \* propose publicly to admit, by appearing before the public in person. \* \* \* \* The language used by you in this article, in relation to the President of the United States, is so *disrespectful* as, in my opinion, to call for your *immediate removal from office*!"

Californians! do you hear that! Did you ever before know what law-and-order "*proscription*" is? Do not straws as plainly show the direction of the wind, as do the ponderous old vanes of lofty steeple tops?

I could tell you more and meaner things, all of a like caste, but I wish not to wander from the subject before us, so I submit for your own consideration, those criminal sentences of disrespect which may be found in the *Evening Post* of October 3d. It is headed

#### "WILAT IS NOW NEEDED?"

"This is no time for mealy words and buttered phrases. Liars must be called liars sycophants, sycophants; traitors, traitors! Big traitors deserve to be characterized pro-

perly, and petty ones shamed into manly and right action. Never did America, freedom, and the world so deeply need genuine Union men and measures as now. Not Union men, who are such in name, because the breeze blows in favor of such—not Union measures, because some abstract principle demands it or anything else, but because, by the contemptible truckling of Stephen A. Douglas, Franklin Pierce, and Lewis Cass, to the southern vote and influence, they have induced the Democratic party to embroil the country, for the first time, in CIVIL WAR, nominally to *establish (!)* a just principle, long ago established, and which no one in America ever doubted, viz.: ‘BY NATURE THE PEOPLE ARE THEIR OWN RULERS!’

“Its second civil war will be in California, in crushing out the same principle of popular sovereignty here, that it seeks to in poor, oppressed, wronged, bleeding, villified Kansas, and it will succeed!

“Strange “popular sovereignty” that, which requires millions of money to *keep the people down*, and that makes Governors, with the support of Democracy, cringe, lie, and sue for aid to butcher free and clear-headed Californians, for no other crime than that they will not endure robbery and plunder, merely because it is clad in *forms of LAW*!

“The awardment of office to personal and political friends, I denounce as the very worst species of BRIBERY! It is PAY for voting and inducing others to vote! It is pay from government funds! It is perversion! It is prostitution! It is demoralizing and corrupting! I would scorn to receive as pay an appointment to office from a man I had helped elect! I would never receive or retain it, with the understanding that my liberty of thought, freedom to speak, and the untrammelled privilege of writing to my fellow citizens, should be in any wise abridged. I will never be a party man. I am not now a Republican, and I never will be. I hope “the party” will explode the moment they have elected Fremont, and free men to Congress.”

There, fellow citizens, is the disrespect! that the crime! I stand before *you* to be judged, and I’ll abide your verdict, when you have heard me!

What says our National Constitution on this subject? It reads,

“Congress shall make no law \* \* \* abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.”

Fellow citizens, what Congress has been denied by the people, that Messrs. J. Ross Browne and Thomas S. King have arrogated to themselves. Mr. Browne, under secret instructions of a misguided administration, and Thomas S. King, in the exercise of his peculiar *independence*! Verily they are a pretty pair! Together they should be banished, not by the Vigilance Committee, but by the frowns of their fellow men! They should be made to feel wherever they go, that a REGAL stamp is on them, and that like Cain, they must seek vainly to be unknown! Californians! This high-handed outrage demands rebuke! and I thank God I am not a minister, for if I were, and should speak thus, as I certainly would, I would be denounced as mixing up church and state, and half the world would believe it.

Denunciation is more effective than argument, and when the declaimer is right, God *meant* it to be.

For six and a half long years, and with shame I confess it,

have I borne the galling, servile yoke of party shackles; and as I have dodged the venomd darts of puny pigmies, to save my petty positions under and in the federal government, I have despised myself and felt unmanly; but this last, this *crowning*, this MONSTROUS, this SHAMELESS attempt to curb free speech and pervert the press, has broken my fetters! Henceforth and forever, I am free! Though weak and puny by nature, desperation and an honest indignation make me strong enough at least to battle and spring forth, as a kid from the eagle's nest, in the topmost height of the official craggy mount, and it may be, as I am warned, but to be dashed to shivered shreds, on crags and peaks below, and to be forgotten, whilst I rot in some dark deep crevice! So let it be, but *be free I will*, so help me God! And in my fall I will shriek out for God, for truth, and for *liberty*!

### WHY NOT WRITE?

It has been urged, "Why not reply in writing? Dr. Scott wrote a letter, he did not preach a sermon!"

I reply. (1.) Because I can get no paper to print what I think, as I think it. (2.) Besides, many persons will not read, who will gladly listen. (3.) Again it is *cheaper* to talk than to print, and he who really seeks to benefit his adopted home, his country, mankind, and advance practical governmental philosophy, must learn to speak promptly, as well as think accurately; and how can one learn without practice?

But more than all these, (4.) I seek to break up that cold, calculating, barren, selfish, intellectual method of procedure, that is growing into a monster curse upon the earth, as a concomitant, if not sequence, of the great excess of printed matter that is being turned out, which must be wisdom itself to be read, and which for fear of ridicule, commonly is disembowelled of all human soul. *Feeling* can't be perfectly stuck into written words! He who feels must show it by manner and by gesture, for to pen it down only incurs derision, which some poor fools can't stand, whether deserved or not! If a merchant or a minister curls his lip, or turns up his nose, they are in mental agony, and squirm and dance around, like some learned men do, to babies, mounted in editorial chairs. That is not

my style. I value the opinions of all men, but still I do my own thinking.

Thus much for the *opposition* to this lecture. It ought to be a good one after all this, but I must throw myself upon your indulgence, for I have more heart than head by a long shot; but I am young yet. I know that you will make every reasonable allowance.

## THE CHURCH AND THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE AS BROUGHT OUT IN THAT AWFUL LETTER.

And *First*, I say that to review two and a half columns of the Rev. Mr. Scott, is no small undertaking. He commonly puts as many ideas into one paragraph, as most men of his cloth in whole sermons. He has hosts of thoughts, and he piles them on, till everything the *public* sees, looks like that pole which Caleb and Joshua came back to Moses with, lugging and tugging with their grapes, till we almost wonder if it was not really California, instead of Canaan, that the Mosaic account treats of.

I did think that my spunk would not have given up before any amount of labor, but really, when I sat down to write this review, and found I had upwards of thirtiethly, on my sheets, I said, not to myself, "W-h-i-e-u—who will ever listen to all that?" Why I could make more money by selling *exit* tickets before the lecture was over, than I need hope to at tickets of admission to any other!

It is necessary to cull out some of the more important points, and just in a word reply to a few of the minor ones. The public prints have bestowed some attention, and Mr. Bayton expects (this was written on Oct. 8th, before the *Pacific* came out,) to give him something particularly fine, so that I feel morally relieved, somewhat.

It is my sincere desire to do all things decently, and in the best possible order, even if that order may be a singular one. With this idea in view, it being Sunday evening, I choose to select not only one but five scriptural texts, trusting however, that neither these nor the "firstlies," and "secondlies," and "finalies," and "in conclusions," may so strongly remind you of a regularly-built sermon, that you will feel it your religious duty

to go to sleep. If the *Wide West* man is here, and cannot possibly keep awake, I will "decently and in order," provide him with a bed in an adjoining room; because I fully believe in those clerical numerical divisions he talked about last Sunday so fiercely. If there are those present who are conscientiously opposed to hearing any thing *like* a sermon, an opportunity will now be afforded them to retire, that there may be no subsequent disturbance. Those too, whose sense of propriety will not permit them to survive some very reckless innovations on pulpit etiquette, are also privileged to withdraw, and it is further suggested that all nose-blowing, throat-clearing, and snuff-taking, be prosecuted whilst the overly conscientious are retiring.

But for the texts: 'The 1st may be found in Matt. xxiii. chap. and 15th verse. It reads, "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte," (sending to Philadelphia, via Panama by sea.) The 2nd, is the 25th and 26th verses of the same chapter, and reads, "Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also," or if you don't do it yourself, don't grumble if others do.

The 3rd, is in Matt. xii. chap. and 3d and 4th verses, "But he (Jesus) said unto them, have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, *which was not lawful* for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?"

Christ, it would seem, defended a violation of the fundamental law, which with some sense might be called "divine," by men who believed that God really gave it; and officers of that law were in *fact* as well as theory, and with no humbug about it, "ministers of God," yet *we* are *taught* as well as told, that we dare not, as his disciples, imitate him! Rather queer, this, to say the best of it.

The 4th is, John, viii. chap. and 10th verse. It reads, "Woman where are those thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee? Neither do I condemn thee. Go and sin no more."

It is not difficult to say where, not only some of our Doctors

of Divinity would have stood in Christ's day if they had then lived, but to point out to a dot, where the great bulk of the Christian ministry would have stood. Christ, in their view, would have been not only heretical but immoral, because an apologist for adultery; of course they would deny it now! I wonder what the doctors thought and said in those days.

The 5th is to be found in the 1st chapter of Deuteronomy and 15th verse:

"So I (Moses) took the chief of your tribes, wise men, and known, and made them heads over you, captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds."

From this it would appear that Moses, when he organized *his* Vigilance Committee, did not allow the companies to elect their own Captains, but he appointed them. San Francisco and Gen. Doane may feel proud, for they are ahead of even Democratic Moses, even in Democracy.

The *sixth* may be found as chapter 1, verse 1, of the Vigilance Committee seal, and reads,

"*Fiat justitia, ruat Cælum.*"

I shall not inform you of the opinions of the learned on these texts, not because I have not the books from which to quote, and radiate a borrowed light, but because common sense is good enough, and if differing from the learned would be followed after all; neither, indeed, do I intend to haul them over in the lecture to fill up. Their point and bearing I trust will be seen at once, without aid from me, for if God has really given to man a revelation, I think *he* must be a pretty smart fellow who can speak more plainly than the almighty and omniscient God. Is it not presumptuous for men to "explain" the simple words of God? Is the Bible a revelation to man or to the ministry? I proceed immediately to consider some of the positions made by the Rev. Wm. A. Scott, in the letter under review, and,

*First.* I quote one paragraph of the letter:

Are you, gentlemen, correct, when you assign the Church "the van of great revolutions?" Is it really a part of our holy religion to contravene our established laws and courts of justice? Does the Church teach us to defy the chief magistrate of the State, and mock at his proclamation, and to assume the administration of such power as executes the highest penalties, and to rule over the city by a secret, self-appointed, irresponsible, but armed and powerful association? If so, I have certainly failed altogether to apprehend the true nature and mission of the Christian Church. I thought its founder was the Prince of Peace, and that his kingdom was not of this world—that it consisted of righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Nor

have I ever found a single text in the Bible authorizing disobedience to the civil magistrate. On the contrary we are commanded to obey our rulers, even when they are as wicked as Caligula or Nero. Nor can I find where the Church has any commission to put herself in the van of any other revolution than that of preaching peace to all nations through the blood of Christ. I certainly yet have to learn, either from Church history or from the New Testament, that the Church has any commission to drive men from vice by the bayonet, or to exile them from their homes and native land by the fiat of a Vigilance Committee. I know not where the pastors who "have preached in favor of the Vigilance Committee," and have "animated their people to go forward" in its support, "as the work of religion, the work of God," could find a text."

The conclusion of this paragraph would lead us to suppose that the writer of that letter had been seriously cogitating the question, —"Shall I preach Vigilance, or not?" that he had been pondering the subject, his heart right, but head wrong; that he got into a quandary, supposing the Kingdom of God was a thing of abstractions and emotions. We can fancy he soliloquized thus: "This idea of "righteousness" is an "imputed" righteousness, for "there are none righteous, no not one," in fact. "God's righteousness," is a kind of legal fiction, not a stubborn, stern fact to be required of man; it grows not out of works, but belief; hence the "righteousness of that text would not do to preach a Vigilance sermon from for those Vigilance men only go in for righteousness in politics and government, which are things the church ought never to meddle with."

Then we may imagine he got asleep, and even his dreams could not suggest a text.

I feel sorry for him; I mean to try and help him, even uninvited. I do not hope to give him a better than he has given us, but I do propose to submit two that will *sound* all right any how, and that you know goes a great way in this world. One may be found in Paul's first epistle to Timothy, 3d chapter and 2d verse. Before reading it however, let me premise that in Presbyterian faith, in which both Mr. Scott and I may glory somewhat without sinning, the word "bishop" is equivalent nearly to "a pastor," and Paul there writes, "A Bishop \* \* \* must be blameless, the husband of one wife, *vigilant*." But what applies to *young men*, like Timothy, perhaps does not to old ones like Wm. A. Scott, so I refer to the teachings of the Apostle Peter, who, though not so learned as Paul, was a man of good stout sense, and he, in a general epistle to young and old, to green and gray, to white and black, to man and woman, says, (see 1 Peter, 5th and 8th) "Be

sober, be VIGILANT; because your adversary, the Devil, \* \* \* as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour, whom resist." Now I do not accuse Charley Duane, or Billy Mulligan either, of being his majesty the Devil, but I do say I would ten times rather have the Devil to fight and hate me than those belligerent angels of light; and I trust no influence, power, or preaching may ever save their necks, if ever they set foot on San Francisco soil *again*; not that good men hate them, but that to *all* men, except the evil doers, they are a terror, notwithstanding they were for so long a time the ministers of God, "*divinely*" appointed (by themselves!) through the stuffing of ballot-boxes, false counts and oaths, and through tally lists made out to order.

Theology needs patching.

*Second.* Just as a minister who is a leader of the blind ought to feel, the Pastor of Calvary Presbyterian Church, does hate most terribly to err, but doubtless upon detecting himself he will amend, as a fair and even *politic* man always will. He even hates to be *suspected* of erring in the least trifle, even on the side of humanity. I fancy that if Jesus Christ were editor of the *Pacific*, under an assumed name, and should say to a woman taken in the very act of adultery, "Hath no man condemned thee? neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more," and if He should urge on Christians, without an *indisputable* "text" for it, to follow high instincts and noble feelings, and to judge partly at least by the heart, we would find some unlawful organization necessary to stop Him from being crucified afresh, by low fellows, stirred up by modern Scribes and Pharisees, or crushed by letters from a next door neighbor, sent *via* Philadelphia and Panama; or perhaps the route of letters might be changed a trifle, so that the blow, falling through a greater space, might have a multiplied power or "effect," and the letter for that time might go through China, thence, *via* India and the overland Asiatic route, to Europe; thence to New York, thence to Philadelphia, be printed in the "*Presbyterian*," (that most "old foggy" of all "old fogy" sheets,) and then be sent by way of Panama, and finally reach Him on Merebant street, from Bush, near Montgomery! My! but it would be severe! Might it not make even Deity tremble!

Even *now* a severe rebuke has been administered by the Doctor of the Law upon a brother, but *then* it would be far more terrible



on a Lord and Master! *Now* the letter is in self defense, then it would be in the nobler work of rebuking immorality. *Now* the great man, this champion of the Philistines, who writes for heathen Journals at the East, and assails, well-meaningly, the good, desires his Christian friends not to imagine that *he* has incited the lambs of his flock, to let their horns grow and become rams, and like the ram in the prophet Daniel's vision, "push others to the westward, and northward, and southward," (and eastward,) or urge his people to "Lynch" "untried" men out of warehouse windows, and thus informally obey the God who has said "who-so sheds man's blood by man shall his blood be shed." Not he! Rather would he compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and then what he would do with him I don't know; but possibly go in for making him ten times as hot an advocate of *legal* hanging, using the Vigilance men, (except of course his personal friends and church supporters,) for victims, as he is suspected of being himself; for is not Vigilance treason!

Thou blind guide! It is well for thee, and for virtue, and for mankind, that you lead not the blind! That they have other leaders, whose eyes and hearts are open! Practically thou sayest, whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing, but whosoever shall swear by the *gold* of the temple, he is a debtor. Whosoever sins against man's rights, trampling liberty, property and life beneath his feet as would swine pearls, it is nothing; but whoso shall dare raise his hand to stay—his pen to check—or his voice to warn against the *forms* of justice and liberty—he is infamous! let him die the death!

*Third.* Says Mr. Scott to Mr. Brayton, "I am constrained to address you, because I have been a frequent contributor to your columns, and have done what I could to increase (the) circulation (of your paper) on this coast, as a *religious* paper. And because I have done so, a necessity is now laid on me to express my dissent from your views." I have *helped* your paper as a religious paper, but I never will do so again.

Thou learned fool! The beam in thine own eye at length has blinded you, and yet you are endeavoring to pick out motes from your brother's, and I grant there are plenty there. Do you not fear that in your efforts to extract the motes from "brother" Brayton's eye, you may run the beam against the house walls and

knock them down? Possibly, upon the principle of action and reaction being always equal, but in opposite directions, you might tumble yourself, whilst the walls stand. "First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

*Fourth.* In Mr. Scott's view there are "constitutional" ways of treating murderers, but in fairness it must be said, there are also "constitutional" ways of making the law of God and man of none effect. Up to the time of the organization of the Vigilance Committee, less than half of one per cent. of all the murders committed here went unpunished. Truly he *must* stand on the Bible (!) and the Constitution *both*, to hate the organization, which has acted like the young man in Christ's parable, who said "I go not sir," yet went, whilst the civil law says "I go sir," but goes not? Which of these, my hearers, think you did the will of God, and by what rule will you judge of the tree, its fruit or its anatomy? God will judge of it by its fruit—the foolishly scientific, whose excess of learning has made them mad, will go in for anatomy! It is defensible upon both grounds.

Although our learned townsman, may, as he says, stand on *both* the Bible and the Constitution, it does seem to me, that he stands on only one foot, and that on the Constitution, merely touching the Bible with the toe of his boot, as men sometimes do intruders in their counting houses and offices, or else he stands on neither; but whilst he decries "political ranting," he himself rides a "Union" hack, and cries out with all the other ranters, not of the pulpit, but the stump, "the Union! the whole Union! the Union right or wrong! and nothing *but* the Union."

(People who live in glass houses should never throw stones.)

*Fifth.* This strain of attack upon so prominent and useful a minister, will seem to many persons not only uncalled for, but unwise. I defer to their opinions, but also differ:—we must remember, that the letter we are now reviewing is itself a most merciless review of another clergyman, and he not in the receipt of a large income, from either church or paper, but one who has manfully and nobly struggled along, without living receipts, in sustaining a religious paper that is as much superior in standing to many of the namby-pamby, so-called religious papers of our country, as is the *Town Talk* to the *Sun*. Strange as it may seem, Mr.

Brayton's *Pacific*, notwithstanding it is "religious," has always been characterized for good sense.

But this is not all. It will be seen from the following extract from Mr. Scott's letter, that all religious teachers are deserving of review when they err, and lend the influence of their names, standing, and position, to a bad cause: "I address myself to you because, as editors, you are before the world as public men, and, as the conductors of a professedly religious paper, you are teachers of Christianity; and as leaders of the people and preachers of the gospel of Jesus Christ, you have no small responsibility to share for urging on the people to contravene the established laws of the land." I have therefore a high sanction for thus, in the name of God and the people, calling the Rev. gentleman to a crude account. I have no wish to bring down upon him, or any one, or his church, or any paper, the slightest evil; and if I had, I do not flatter myself that any such effect will follow. I would rather rejoice in his repentance and conversion, little as I expect to see it; but if he persists, he will incur a more fearful displeasure, by far, than that of any man or set of men in San Francisco; viz., that of the Almighty God of liberty; and what is deeply to be deplored, for himself and family, History will write his name, as a defender of tyranny and oppression! Should he repent and confess his error, no man in the nation would stand higher. May God grant it!

*Sixth.* I have met good men, and men of prayer, who *rejoice* in that letter from the basest of motives. It would be wrong for me to allow this opportunity for rebuke to pass by unimproved. Their lips do not say it, but their eyes and grinning muscles, and their spirit betrays it; and would that I could say *the ministry* is entirely exempt from it! but I cannot. These men glory, thinking that "the Doctor's day is over,"—that "he missed his mark." They hope that some of his wealthy hearers will leave his church, and that, by working their cards aright, the church expenses of *their* particular "Zions" will not be so heavy to them personally. They see ahead of them, horses and carriages, new furniture, &c., all of which they have staved off to help "the cause."

If I were a rich man, in Calvary congregation, I would not *budge* from there pecuniarily, for at least one year! I would

brave and battle such meanness and wireworking Christianity! I would scorn and spit upon the foul tongue that would dare broach a thing that *savored* that way! I would *stick* there, *because* I disliked the man, frown on, and openly oppose his views—but be caught in such a trap—be snapped up by such religious politicians, I *would* not whilst reason and nobility of heart endured! And to those mean miscreants themselves, whether lay or clerical, let me, although not a minister, advise a word,—“Seek first the Kingdom of God, and His righteousness, and all things needed will be added unto you.” “Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.” Trust in God and bold truth, and not in wire-pulling and managing the dollars! Be men! Attack wrong! Go ahead of the people! Cease to follow in their wake! Be honest! Claim nothing for the pulpit or the church, that is not clearly their due! It is just as wrong to bear false witness in favor of your neighbor, or friend, or church, as it is *against* them! Lie not to the people! When they arise in their might and virtue, and do deeds of righteousness, whilst you are considering, or it may be preaching only the “principles” of these things, too cowardly to give them a bold and practical application, let God and the PEOPLE have the praise! It does not belong to the ministry or to the church! Do not disgust the honest and clear-headed among outsiders by such false, sneaking claims as the *Pacific* put forward, and at which Mr. Scott very justly and pointedly hints a doubt when he asks, “Are you, gentlemen, correct when you assign the church the van of great revolutions?”! It is business men,—and, alas! too often infidels,—who are in truth and fact in the van!—these are the pioneers, and not Christians, as such, as they ought to be! There is no more certain way of keeping honest men out of the church than to convince them that the church and its ministers lie! Therefore if for no higher motive, lie not, for you *can* not fool a good, thinking business-man on such points.

*Seventh.* This most unlooked-for position of our great townsman does indeed seem wonderful and difficult to account for; but imagining that some of James King of Wm.’s “At Churches” have “hit” him, and caused a *feeling* of condemnation for some of his defects—and that King of Wm., had defects it is folly to deny—and may have caused the reverend gentle-

man to forget King's hundred virtues and noble characteristics, and when shot, to regard him as but a man—as *one* of the citizens of the town—as *a* member of the human race; and to make all the fuss over him that the people were a-making, may have seemed to the good man preposterous—and then too, the *Herald* feeling the same way, having been knocked into a cocked hat in a jiffy, our good divine possibly may have felt himself left-handedly beaten, and his feelings “got up.” Then, right on top of this, perhaps some poor fools, glorying like children in their demonstrated power over the *Herald*, may have thought to “try it on” the preacher; but they found their match!

Whatever else Mr. Scott may not have, I venture to say, that notwithstanding he despises phrenology, there is just behind his ear, a big bump whose phrenologic name is combativeness, and on the back-top of his head there is another, whose name is firmness; and get these two up together, with the heart already a trifle biassed, and sympathy with the *Herald* aroused, a man of *his* intellectual bore, will not be slow to marshal conscience to a post, and then “pitch in” as boldly as a regard for friends, and vested rights and interests of others would permit. This seems to have been his course, for he *says* he was threatened,—that he was told he would “lose his congregation” if he did not preach and pray to order.

The dastards who dared so *threaten*, are unworthy the name of men! The names they are known by, ought to have been publicly read from the pulpit! No personal friendship should have screened them! They are infamous! He who seeks to intimidate another, especially through the pocket or by violence, is an *arrant* coward! It is difficult to find a word too strong to apply to it.

But possibly there was no threat in the case. Possibly some personal friends came to Mr. Scott, and said, “Now, Doctor, I entreat you not to speak your mind, for if you do, we *predict* that you will lose your audience. Look at the *Herald*!”

Such action would have been not cowardly, but really kind; but though kind, still not noble; and I am surprised that a man of Mr. Scott's strong, bony, iron sense allowed himself to be bamboozled and cheekmated in this way. His plain duty was, to take some such text as this: “I believed, therefore *have I*

*spoken*," and he ought to have given *what* he believed, whether it made or broke him with others! What is \$8000 a year, and the affections or approbation of man, to the approbation of a manly conscience and the smiles of Almighty God! I'd like to see the man, the influence, the *King*, the government, that will ever again seal *these* poor lips as they have been by moral cowardice through years, and, I repeat it, though the grave be my lot, and starvation lay me there, I'll die free as air and bold as the Devil!

*Eighth.* I admire Mr. Scott for his resolution, and "Old Hickory" spirit. I would that he were on the right side. Whilst off the track, still he is a veritable, and good old iron-horse, and once got back again, he'll drag his train as proudly, nobly, dashingly, and certainly as ever before. There was a switch in the track wrong somewhere, and the best and mightiest of locomotives would be *bound* to get off:—get him back again, and fix the track, and I warrant you, he will go all right yet. Ever since he has been *off* the track, he has acted just as a first-rate locomotive off the track *ought* to act; and there is nothing in the world more quixotically ridiculous, than to see savage editors, and boiling-over deacons, come running out with their moral cannon, rifles, pistols, and pop-guns, to *shoot* the old iron-horse, instead of coming with their crowbars, their ropes, their pulleys, and their teams, and hitching fast of some big rock, bigger than the locomotive track and all, pull unitedly to get him right again. His "drivers" are a little damaged, and he limps; but they may be easily repaired. He has not blown up, and he *will* not! Mr. Scott is a man of moral deeds, as well as words!—go be you like him! He is a man of moral backbone! and if he finds he is wrong, he will have the courage to say it; and if he don't, he will have the boldness to defend himself and his views now, as he desired to in the beginning! His letter to the *True Californian*, has not been re-published in other papers, with the manly frankness that ought to characterize journals, which so joyfully glut over his misfortune. It would not do him credit to publish it entire, but justice requires a publication of some of the facts, which therefore I give, in his own words.

"Editors of *True Californian*." I have to acquaint you with a few facts, of which you must have been ignorant.

"1. I was absent when these unhappy affairs commenced. It is well known that when I got home the city was glowing like a furnace. I could not recall the dead. Nor could I undo what had been done, much as I was grieved at it. The question for me then as a citizen and a Christian pastor, was, how could I best succeed in pouring oil on the troubled waters? And without compromising truth and duty to principle, promote the peace and welfare of my congregation, and quiet the public mind. The conclusion to which I came was, that my duty was to continue to preach the Gospel, and read and expound the Word of God in regular course, just as I had been doing. This was the course I took.

"2. Very soon, however, it was made apparent that I was misrepresented, and that it would therefore be proper for me to make known my view of the proceedings of the Vigilance Committee. As such themes did not come, according to my views, within the proper sphere of the pulpit and the Lord's day, I invited all the officers of my congregation to meet me in my study. They did me the kindness to come, and I laid before them, in as full and plain a manner as I could, what my views were—showing that my *education, antecedents, conscience, principles, and relations* to the Church of Christ, were such that I could not for one moment approve of the proceedings of the Committee. I wished to have their approbation to publish my statement to them at that time. They agreed, unanimously I believe, that I had the same rights as to my conscience and principles that they had. But they advised me to wait until the excitement might subside. They told me it would do no good to attempt to reason on the subject then. A few days afterwards they requested me *in writing*, for the sake of the public good, not to say anything on the subject. Out of regard to their wishes, as the representatives of a generous people, who had treated me with great kindness, I did not then publish my letter. I continued to read the Word of God, and to preach it as before.

"I also remonstrated in *three* letters to the *Rev. Mr. Brayton*, on the same subject against his course as an editor of a *religious* paper—these letters contained the substance of my letter to him in the *Presbyterian*. I also wished him to publish our correspondence *at the time* in his paper, if he thought it would do good. I also acquainted him with the fact, that I would write to the East, on the subject. Still I delayed writing more than a month. I did not write until I was so wholly misrepresented that it seemed to me to be necessary to show that I did not approve of the Vigilance Committee. I suppose I had a right to hold my own principles without *proscription*"

(Who does not feel like shouting Amen!)

"And to publish them when and where I pleased without having my motives impugned, or being subjected to such charges as you make. And I had supposed I was at liberty to pursue what course I thought duty called me to, in reading and preaching the word of God, without having the whole tribe of *Vigilant* newspapers pouring down their thunder on my head. Other clergymen could do as they pleased. They could pray and preach for the Committee, and fill the Atlantic papers with elaborate vindications of its doings, and by name and by inference put me in a false position before the Christian world. But after all this, if I *write* a letter to the East, in which I show that on Bible grounds, I am wholly opposed to the Committee, then I am to be hunted out of California, as one of the greatest malefactors ever banished by the Committee."

(Never, old worthy! Or if so, not alone, for one of your reviewers at least, will stand by your principle to the death!)

"The front of my offending is,—

"*First.* That I could not, as a *free and independent* man, and as I hope, a *faithful* and *good* citizen, and as a *preacher of the Gospel*, give my desk and my voice to the Vigilance Committee against my convictions. And,

"*Secondly.* When the *proscription of the times* was carried so far that even silence was construed into acquiescence, or something worse, *then I at various times and in various ways, uttered and published what I believe to be the true Bible doctrine touching this whole most unhappy portion of the history of San Francisco.* I have tried to do my duty to my fellow citizens, to my congregation, and to my God. *I am perfectly willing and happy to abide all the consequences.*

"October 4, 1856.

Respectfully,  
W. A. SCOTT."

I desire it to be distinctly understood that, whilst I censure and pour contempt upon the false views and principles of Mr. Scott and everybody else, I distinguish between their views and personal character. It is no crime to err honestly, nor no virtue to think truthfully;—the one is a misfortune and the other a blessing, and I have yet to learn, that those who are blessed of God are thereby authorized to turn around and persecute those who are already suffering. It is mean!—it is contemptible!—it is ignoble! Whilst, therefore, I pursue criticism of views, let no one imagine I feel personally hostile to Mr. Scott.

*Ninth.* He further asks: "Does the church teach us to defy the chief magistrate of the State, etc." To me it does not matter a straw *what* "the church" teaches. I simply ask "what is right and best." In considering this question, I weigh well the teachings of Christ, and of noble, unselfish men; having decided, I write, speak, and act. Although Christ, the reputed founder of the present Christian church, is styled the Prince of Peace, still when first He came, it was "*not* to bring peace on the earth, but a sword." Although the time is not many centuries distant when he *will* return to the earth and rule, as Immanuel, as Prince of Peace, and as King of Nations, as he now is King of Saints; when there *will* be a season or day of righteous judgment or government of all nations, and when to him, who will be "the desire" and father "of all nations," grateful incense and praise will be daily offered up, probably in Jerusalem, with its temple miraculously rebuilt, and the now despised and scattered Jews re-gathered to their home, and under Him will be reconstructed into a nation of twelve tribes again, as at the beginning. Still, about the *present*, there can be no doubt whatever. No just view of Christ's life or teachings can countenance the idea that a real Christian's life will be anything else than a scene of turmoil and strife—a battling of right against might, and love against hate. Evil is to be *overcome* of good, and not smiled, cajoled, hinted, coaxed and bowed at, but to be battled and crushed with moral weapons, if they are effective, and if not, then with carnal, George Law muskets and Sharpe's rifles!

A Christian, who is worthy of the name, is a warrior at the right time, like Washington. He who really assumes the Christian armor, (I do not say the pasteboard, theater-like *fac similes*,



so abundant in our churches!) counts well the cost, remembering what Paul said, that "All that *will* live Godly in Christ Jesus *shall* suffer persecution."

*That* peace and joy, which the scriptures teach belong to the Kingdom of Heaven, will only come when that kingdom does, for which Christ taught all men to pray, in which "righteousness," or righteous men, shall rule, and not dollars and cents and hocus-pecus elected officers. Let the Bible, or anything or anybody else tell me to obey a Caligula or Nero, and *when I cannot help myself*, I'll obey, and think the advice good; but show me a chance once, and—and—and—I'd do just what the Vigilance Committee did in every case except that of Terry, if not in that too.

*Tenth.* I do not believe in the "divine right of kings," or the "divine right of government," in any mysterious or sanctimonious sense. Such doctrines are things hatched up to pander to those in power, and to strengthen them in the people's hearts, by bringing in religious fears and superstitions.

Government is a felt necessity of man, and *therefore* it exists. This is the whole long-and-short of it. God made man's nature, and in this way may be said to have *instituted* government. But it is plain as the sun at noon-day that this fact has no practical bearing on men's action. What if God *did* make man's nature what it is, what follows in government from *that*?! *Nothing!* but a mere childish recognition of a comparatively useless metaphysical truth, whose true place is theology as a science, and not government as an art! Suppose the *devil* had made man what he is, the very same rules of action would be necessary then as now, and that luney who would prate to practical men about the "devilish authority of government," would be not more deserving of ridicule than he who now ding-dongs by the hour or column about the "divine authority of law."

Men often recognize in theory what they do not and ought not to believe in heart.

In 1832, six hundred beautiful young women, by the legitimate authority of the Russian government, (Nicholas reigning) were taken forcibly by the formally, (and therefore "divinely!") appointed officers of the law, from Southern Polish provinces, and transported without their own consent, and in violation of

the wishes and prayers of the parents of these victims, and given up to the Russian soldiery at Woznesensk, a Russian military colony, to become mothers of Russian subjects ; whilst all the holy instincts of crushed Polish patriotism rebelled and cried out, " Rather let me die ! " as did scores by their own hands.

Did not the Rev. Mr. Scott, as a Christian minister, feel bound to pen a Pacific letter, to the *Philadelphia Presbyterian*, addressed to the clerical editor of the *Woznesensk Gazette*, for daring to lend his now crushed paper, to incite fathers, brothers, and men in Southern Poland, to resist " the powers that were " in that place ? Is the learned gentleman so profoundly Biblical, as to dare say, *that* was an unhallowed and damnable action ?

Laying out of view that these young women were not made harlots of, but pseudo-wives, and were probably as well treated as the generality of wives in that country are—laying out of view the fact, that there was a Caligulan-Nero reigning there let us imagine such things to be done in America,—as *Mr Scott well knows analagous and worse things HAVE been under shelter of so-called republican law*,—let us imagine too that *one* of the victims is Mr. Scott's own most loved daughter ! I will not do him the injustice to even *suspect* him destitute of that manliness of heart, that would make him, man of peace that he is, slash away thro' stacks of bibles, to cut the throats of the official villians, or assail *fifty churches* instead of jails, if need be, even tho' they were *filled* with deputy-sheriff's, marshals, mayors, judges, and Christian ministers besides, and that too with canons, muskets, rifles, or anything else, rather than see consummated and perpetuated, such a scheme of *wrong*, and violation of his own, God-implanted instincts ! Mr. Scott is no coward ; nor do I believe his Christianity, has deprived him of his manhood ! *But if it HAS,—if this is the legitimate FRUIT of his views of Christianity, may God save the people, from the influence of such a ravenous wolf, in sheep's clothing*, or forgive all his sins, and remove him to a happier and better world, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest !

If I believed the laws of the land, because constitutionally and formally made, are taught by the Bible to be the ordinances of God, and to be revered and obeyed as such, I would either

contemn and spurn as unsound and unreliable, not only the Bible, but any other *such*-teaching book, or else suspect the clause as an interpolation, unworthy of attention except to avoid.

The doctors of the law, in this, as in other ages of the world, will have a heavier account to render, for making infidels by such teaching and preaching as that, than will Mr. Cutler and Mr. Brierly for their well-timed and bold Vigilance sermons. Does Mr. Scott, intend to make men believe that laws licensing and directing liquor-selling, as do California Statutes now, or licensing gambling as did those same laws not long since, or making divorces a cheap and facile thing, or licensing or directing fornication as law now does in France,—does Mr. Scott, a minister of the gospel of the free grace of God try seriously to make men believe that these are ordinances of God, and as such are to be revered and obeyed, whilst we with our own eyes read the words of Christ, saying, “that a *look* of lust is crime in heart”? Or, looking away from pure morality, does Mr. Scott admire and reverence, any more than he *relishes* such big things, as \$900,000 building operations, given out by law, and taxed out of a crushed and suffering people, to enrich the villian who was “*smart*” enough to put the bill through the Legislature and get it signed?! I tell you sir, men will *not* give up their common sense to anybody, or any thing, and I for one am resolved, if need be, to *twist* the Bible to common sense, rather than do violence to well recognized principles of right and wrong, in the soul of every honest and candid man. It will not do sir!

*Eleventh.*—Mr. Scott asks for a single act of Christ, or a single disrespectful word, against the powers that be. I refer him to Matthew, 21st chap. and 12th verse, and its parallel passages in Mark and John, in which are given the accounts of Christ disturbing the peace, as well as committing an assault and battery on numerous persons, who bought and sold, and shaved on long and short bits in the temple, and that too when He was at the head of a *mob*, and supported by them! Nay worse yet; he had just then been riding as a King, and receiving the people's praises as such, notwithstanding he once said, render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's! But this criminality was yet more heightened, when we reflect, that there were *peaceable means* of doing this same thing!

The fact is, Jesus Christ was a practical man. He knew that although there were peaceable and "constitutional" means of reaching his end, still they *WOULD not be put into operation*, hence he went to work with his unorganized Vigilance Committee, and like our San Francisco affair, without shedding a drop of blood, he preached by action! Thus much for action, and now for disrespect. I refer to Luke the 13th chap. and 31st and 32d verses, "Then came certain of the Pharisees saying, 'Get thee out and depart hence, for Herod will kill thee.' And he said unto them, go ye *and tell that fox*, behold I cast out devils, &c." Is this particularly respectful to Herod, who certainly was a pretty tall "power" in those days!

It does seem, as though almost every point of that unfortunate letter, were vulnerable and weak, in its Biblical foundations.

*Twelfth.* We are informed that San Francisco is but little worse in the character of its rulers than other places. I believe this, and more too, and may talk more fully about it at some other time, but must proceed at once to the consideration of one great *cause* for this stupendous fact, which I will do in responding to the false view of Mr. Scott, and many others, that

"Political ranting has well nigh destroyed the influence of the American pulpit," and says Mr. Scott, "I would not have the responsibility that rests upon such ministers as have left \* \* \* preaching Christ crucified, \* \* \* and have excited their hearers \* \* \* to a disregard for the laws of the land \* \* \* and to the use of Sharpe's rifles (and George Law muskets) for all the gold or fame of the world. \* \* \* As an humble minister \* \* \* I would acquit myself in the eyes of the \* \* \* world \* \* \* by bearing my testimony against all lynch law. \* \* \* I protest also against your making the pulpit their advocate. As ministers we have a more sublime theme—to show unto the people the way of salvation."

This I regard as the biggest thing of all the letter. I throw aside entirely any consideration of historical allusions as unimportant, and believing that the numerous able volunteer writers, in our daily prints, for the past few months, have, beyond all controversion, established by theory what the Vigilance Committee first did by fact, viz.,—that the people *CAN* rightfully, if not constitutionally, revolutionize, even a Republic by force, I

throw that over the wall too, and desire to gain your undivided attention to the consideration of these most unchrist-like and pernicious views of ministerial duty, whose prevalence, far more than "political ranting in the pulpit," has made the American pulpit powerless comparatively, and which makes such mighty contrasts in the attendance upon the preachings and good effect upon the hearers of progressive and conservative men! Progressive men are called "erratic," "eccentric," and "fanatical," because they come up like business men to the mark, and talk to their hearers the stout words of strong common sense, not fearing for their salaries when they call a rich man, and that too by name, a thief when he steals. Who wonders that "conservative" houses of worship are so generally deserted, and their galleries go a begging for occupants, and the treasury for dollars, when we remember that the preacher is one of those sleek, mcek-mouthed, finikin, starched, butter-and-honey looking men, with the only white things about him his skin, eyeballs, teeth, and cravat; whose sermons are metaphysical and religiously technical, and although they display a cultivated mind and an elevated sentiment, with great skill and ability in the management of the prescribed phrases and stereotyped forms, still are, after all, as to morality, only bread with milk and water, carved, graced, and buttered into beautiful and smoothly slipping sentences, and wholly impotent to turn the scamp from his evil purpose, and strengthen the simply honest non-professing Christian in his own religion. Their hearers can comfortably walk right out of church to an avaricious grinding down of the poor and oppressing the defenceless, to the limit of the "divine ordinances," the laws,—to devouring widows' and clients' houses and money, and for a pretence, making long prayers, and sharing the spoils with the church,—to questionable practices in trade and politics,—and to a studious, artistic skill in business-selfishness! Why, many of the very scamps who do attend those churches, often do it as a cloak for sneaking ungodliness!

It is a pity and a *great* pity, that ministers, who, as a class are far more prone to nobility and generosity than most other men, should be so utterly dependent upon the wills of the rich men in their churches as to feel that the food of their little ones is hanging upon their *suiting* these great ones. O, God! can there be

nothing done to relieve a class of men, who, of all others ought to be bold as thine adversary, at least, and I can't see why not bolder! Is it beyond the reach of possibility? Rouse up the people to reflection, and let the practical tyranny of wealth, as well as hierarchies and stated conventions, forever cease!

I lay down a few propositions, which I pray God to impress upon your hearts, and

1st. God never did a thing "for show" in all his dealings with man. He has done many things *to* show and teach man about Himself and His relations to the universe; but he who would have the hardihood to make God out a big boy, seated on the throne of the universe, trying to elicit the applause of pigmy grasshoppers, snails, worms, roaches, ants, and fleas, has a different imagination and conception of Deity than have I, or than I desire to have!

The great idea or attribute of God would seem to be universal love, blended with a wisdom that gave rise to law to secure the impulses of His holy heart. Nothing that he has made, done, or instituted betokens anything opposed to this. Everything is seemingly shaped with reference to this theory. The creation of animals, with man as the *highest* in the scale evinces it. The creation of immortal intelligences, with man *lowest* in the scale, betokens it. The ancient Jewish civil law breathes it forth, and the life and teachings of Christ confirm it. What is true of entire systems is no less true of the parts and details of each. It would be easy to shew the wisdom of the Jewish ministry regarded in the light of this theory, and far easier to make the Christian ministry assume its relation to God's one great attribute, LOVE.

2d. The ministry, as one of the institutes of Heaven, was for an end, and not for show. It is not, of itself, a something to be worshipped. *Its* business is to help God in loving men, and to help men to love God and each other.

The ministry, to use a figure, is not a bachelor, but is married. Its wife's maiden name was "The Family." By a "peculiar law of marriage, when a number of families are united to one minister, the husband as well as the wives change their name and are called "A Church." These wives all live separately, and everywhere in Christendom, except in Utah, so does the minister, just as much so as though he *were* an "old bach."

The wives or families have the liberty, of course, of associating together for any right purpose they choose, and to prevent squabbles among themselves and the children, they get together, agree to certain rules or laws, and appoint some one or more persons to look after them and take care no one does any harm to the others.

This is civil government.

It is a "divine institution" only from the fact that it is necessary to secure the divine wishes, viz.: love in life and consequent justice among men.

3d. It is the business of the ministry to watch over every institution and influence that tends to incite men to, or prevent men from loving God and each other; that is, which tends to make them friends or enemies, just or unjust, upright or slinking, ignoble or noble, mean or generous, prayerful or prayerless.

4th. Not only is this the work of the ministry, but it is *pulpit* work, and no one will deny it. Ministers are at liberty to use what means seem best, and in Paul's day he regarded the life, miracles, privations, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ as most potent to secure this end, not forgetting at the same time to prove many things by his "carnal reason" from admitted opinions then prevalent.

I do not deny that these themes are effectual now, but I *do* deny that *only* these are, and also, that these are proper at all times. There are right seasons for planting, and he who sows out of season, runs great risks, although he may sometimes get a crop. It is just as necessary sometimes to water as it is to plant.

It only remains to affirm what no sane, sensible man will deny, that civil government, and particular men and measures under civil government, *do* have influences, such as we have seen it the function of the ministry to watch over in the pulpit, to make the conclusion irresistible, *that the pulpit has no more right to be dumb on politics and candidates for office than it has to be forever harping on this or any other one theme*; and if I were a minister, no booming from great guns or flashings from "great lights,"—no howling and vituperation from a partizan press,—no deprivation of food and raiment, should frighten me from my convictions of duty in this respect.

"Ah, yes," I hear some one say, "I agree with you *thus far*. Your *principle* is sound, but your *application* is objectionable. It is all well enough to influence people by moral means in government as in other things, but to tell them in the pulpit they ought to do this or that—to support this and overthrow that *particular measure*, is all wrong. It is mixing up religion and politics."

No such thing as "mixing up." It is *using* religion in politics. Religion is loving. It is being something more, higher and nobler than simply just; and that man is a hypocrite, or self-deceived who pretends to be generous or loving from principle on one point, whilst he is not on others. A man *can't* really love purity, justice, and nobility in his pew, however much he may admire them, and yet hate them in his counting-house, office, or workshop. Real religion is consistent. It don't cause us to love a rich man, and show him the best seat in the church, and point out a tobacco-juiced stool in the vestibule to the poor fellow who can't afford to rent a seat at a smashing rate. It is consistent. It is just. It pushes itself wherever right and wrong can enter.

"Yes, I know all that; but then when it comes to particulars and application it is a different thing."

No, sir. That minister who preaches thou shalt not steal in general, and yet knows there is a deacon who habitually steals money from the collection plate, is *bound* to go talk to that man, not about stealing in general, but about those particular sums and coins he takes. If a minister preaches, thou shalt not commit adultery, and yet knows that twenty of his congregation are criminal in that respect, who will say that the minister is not bound to make all right, in the wisest and speediest way possible, and who cannot see that at times preaching will be the the wisest way. Jesus Christ has directly and specifically prescribed it. "Go privately and try to cure—next take a witness or two—and, finally, tell it to the church." These are Christ's directions; but still, if Daniel Webster, or John C. Calhoun, or Stephen A. Douglas say not, you must, of course, obey last orders first, as in the Navy; at all events, if you are in Federal employment!

The principle is general. What is true of one point, *involving right and wrong*, (*i. e.*, love, or the lack of it,) is true of all.



CHURCH AND STATE SHOULD BE DISTINCT, but religion and politics, and religion or anything else, never! There is no act in life, that does not, or may not partake of a moral character, that is, that does not spring from a motive of some kind or another. If that motive is high and generous it is religious, the present-day ministry to the contrary notwithstanding, but if it is mean, selfish, and unworthy of a being, made in the moral image of the author of nature, it is irreligious;—and shame on that dastardly preacher; who shuns to *drive* this Catholic religion, into every nook and cranny of life! Shame on the contemptible soul that dare, shrivelled up within itself, squeak out “Church and State” the moment the scorching rays of truth begin to burn it in its selfishness.

There is always great room to suspect such croakers.

Religion and long-facedness have been so long blended,—sanc-timonious manners with pulpit-ministrations,—stale, crisped, ridiculous phrases and formulas, with the Bible,—that men actually, have grown to think it the fault of the book, and not of the ministry. They learn to reverence the Bible and those things in which they are educated, and when any erratic fellow, dares travel out of the record, they shrink and squirm as though bodily afflicted; but if added to this, their pockets or gross passions or educational prejudices are fired away at, they become rampant, and talk of “ranting” in the pulpit, &c.

Who can define the word “ranting?” Let some one try at leisure!

Fellow-citizens! The pulpit, although not the only place for reform, is certainly not to be excluded from *among* those places. It is sheer nonsense, to talk of showing the “people the way of salvation,” whilst they are being ruined and damned by the monster crimes of government all around them, which no moral suasion and virtuous money-spending, or peaceful unarmed action can cure.

Why does not Mr. Scott have a portable pulpit built, and when the City Hall bell strikes for fire, have it toted around to the burning house, and when he sees from the street, a burning mother, at an upper window, with her helpless babe bound to her bosom, why does he not pull out a sermon and point out *to her* the way of spiritual salvation, instead of pointing her out to the hook and ladder boys!

I tell you sir, to a burning mother, there is more of the spirit of the gospel of Christ in one hook and ladder, and one stout manly arm, than in a thousand volumes of President Edward's and Robert Hall's sermons, with a dray-load of bibles and long faces put together! and to a cursed city—ridden to the earth by systematized villainy and organized villians, who so managed the *constitutional means of rectifying wrongs*, that their power and villainy bid fair to be perpetual, three thousand George Law muskets, not one of which was required to "crack," did more to reform not only government, but public sentiment, than 500,000 Philadelphia Presbyterians, filled with Mr. Scott's letters inside and out, on the same principle, that Sharpe's rifles in Kansas. will be more effective for settler's rights, guarantied them on paper, by the Kansas Nebraska bill, but not secured to them by federal force or protection, than bushels of President's and Governor's proclamations, and barrels of "Scott's moral oil" for the "calming of troubled waters." There is a mighty moral influence in George Law muskets and Sharpe's repeating rifles, in the hands of virtuous men!

The Vigilance Committce was right, not only in action, but religiously in theory. It also is a "divine institution," because begotten by the neecessities of the natures that God has given man, and moreover it is to the present time, one of "the powers that be" and those who stand so firmly on the Constitution, the Union, and the *Bible*, had better be careful how they stir up excitement against this "Divine institution," for unlike some other theoretical institutions, "it is not dead but sleepeth."

#### DEFENCE OF MR. SCOTT.

Thus far, I have spoken only of Mr. Scott's blunders. If I stopped here, my business would be but partly done, and I feel, as I retired to rest, that I had sought not to do justice, though the heavens fall, but to pander to a corrupt, pernicious, and unchristain taste for moral blood. By what I have yet to say, I may spoil myself in your good opinions more than a little. That, however, matters nothing—"FLAT JUSTITIA RUAT CŒLUM."

I deem Mr. Scott an injured man. He is a great man. He is a noble man. He is the man who advised with, and counseled General Jackson, and who was revered by "Old Hickory" as his superior, in almost all things. What has Mr. Scott done to

incur the enmity and personal hatred of any man in San Francisco? Why did not the Vigilance Committee arrest, try, convict, sentence, and execute him for murder? When was he arrested for fraud, or whom has he defrauded? What poor baker, milkman, or shoemaker, has he cheated out of his just dues? Who has ever detected him in a wilful lie? When, and by whom was he taken home by friends, too drunk to walk? In what saloon does he play? Is it Whipple's, or Thompson's, or whose is it? Who has ever in conversation found him to be obscene or use words of double and low meanings? Whose ears have listened to him profaning his Maker's name? At whose dance-house has he been found, or with what prostitute, save one whose last flickering rays of life have craved a ministerial prayer, and the once noble, but then low-fallen one has entreated to send, not for any one else, but 'for Dr. Scott?' And when, so sent for, has he Levite-like, passed by on the other side, whilst the ruined soul of a fallen-angel, has launched out into eternity uncared for—unprayed for?

Who is it more prominent, not only in the work of school, but individual education than Mr. Scott? Who is it, that remembers in prayer, in his weekly ministrations, the poor and villainous wretches, whom the people soon will remove from office, whilst all others have lent their tongues, only in their defamation? Who will dare to say, that those oft-sneered-at prayers of Mr. Scott, for our national and local officers, have not reached unto Heaven, and that God, after sending *him* out of town, resolved in his absence to show him the answer to his prayers? Who that don't look on prayer as a humbug, will dare to say, that Mr. Scott was *not* praying unknown to himself, for the establishment of the Vigilance Committee; for a government which the all-wise God, thought best to make transient in its nature, and almost omnipotent in its powers? Who will say but that to Mr. Scott, more than to any other one member of his church, was the existence, power, and wisdom, of the wonder of the Nineteenth Century owing? *I* will not, for *I* believe in prayer!

Who is it, that, unpaid is ever ready, when called upon to lecture for the benefit of charitable institutes, and to instruct and advise young men and women from his own vast storehouse of

learning and travel? From what charity has he withheld his gold? Who is it that amid pressing and ponderous duties, suffers himself so often to be called out miles and hours from loved pursuits and toils, to pronounce sad words, and implore divine blessings at the side of an open grave or a yawning tomb? Who that has heard him preach more than once, can sincerely say, that *he* or *she* has not felt under his preaching, that *there* was a mighty man, pushing mightily for virtue? Who is there in San Francisco, that can begin to hold a candle to Mr. Scott, in point of learning and profundity? Whose sermons is it, that make you feel as you leave his church, as you would if emerging from those libraries and depositories of learning, whose very catalogues need to be catalogued themselves.

Cannot a man differ in opinion with his fellow men, and even speak it, no matter in how peculiar and round-about a way, and still command the respect of his fellow men? Must personal and partizan feelings so enslave us that we will cut off *our* noses to spite *his* face.

But these are questions. I have hunted for evidence, of Mr. Scott's practical Christian character, and I did not have to go far. Right next door to me, I find a family which goes to his church, and they *love* him. That fact alone speaks more than volumes. They *love* him! They would *die* for him. In distress and trouble, he comes with almost an angelic hand, and soothes the troubled mind, pours out his big manly old soul, and drops from his old studious eyes, the tears of sympathy, not because Jesus told him to weep with those who weep, but because his big heart, having caught the spirit of Christ, drinks in others' woes, and swells heavingly; and he can't *help* crying, big and great as he is. I could tell you tales of his personal kindness and sympathy, that would make your very ears tingle, the blood prick your scalp, and the warm flushes of emotion, course wave-like throughout your frames, but it would not do. It would involve personal privacies, that ought never to be dragged before the public gaze. Suffice it to say, that I *love* the man, and always will. I rejoice that he wrote the letter he did, if for no other reason, than to allow some one to go into the examination of his personal character, and find the deep, the warm, the strong, the womanly, the profound, personal, Christian character he bears, and expose it to the world! Why should a man die before his virtues are known, and his face be frozen stiff, before the loving and appreciative tears of living men and women of heart should roll out? It *should* not be! It *ought* not to be! It *SHALL* not be!

My hearers, if you will but take the trouble to examine, as I have, and that, too, not very extensively, you will feel as I feel,

and when sorrow and anguish shall come upon you,—when pecuniary disaster shall overtake you,—or malicious assaults on your character be made falsely for your convictions and for truth's sake,—you will go to him as I will, not to beg, but for sympathy, and you'll find it! You'll find as big a heart as there is enlarged a mind!

Twenty years hence, Mr. Scott, and most other San Franciscans, will *think* alike on the Vigilance Committee, and, let me in conclusion ask, whether you do not yourselves think it nobler to differ yet love, than *hate* because you differ? Cut out the *core* of proscription and eat the apple!

And now one word more to my friend, Mr. J. Ross Browne, and his owners. For this lecture you have proscribed me. You have threatened me with suspension from office, *supposing* I would favor the Vigilance Committee. I do favor it, and when turned out I think I'll join it. You will have triumphed, two months hence, and you and your party will have politically slain a young and poor man. I ask you to reflect upon the glory of your achievement, and ask yourselves, before God, whether you feel comfortable, as high-minded and noble men. And to those poor, miserable drivellers, the Gwins, the Wellers, and the minor lights, who tormented Mr. Browne into such action, permit me to say, soothingly, I pity you. I feel no anger towards you, but hope and pray that your souls may grow to fill at least a nutshell, and your minds, your souls.

I have done.

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## APPENDIX.

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### A.

(SEE FOOT NOTES ON PAGE 16.)

This charge of falsehood against the Rev. I. H. Brayton I hereby retract, because *about one hour* before Mr. Brayton penned that article, defining his position with reference to the lecture, I *had* consented to allow my relation to the *Evening Post* and *Pacific* to cease, although at the time I inserted my advertisement in the papers, announcing my intention to review Mr. Scott, I *was* an editor in both of those papers. Mr. Brayton's communication was designed to *correct* an impression which was true, and hence ought not to have been corrected, but which at the moment he regretted and was ashamed of. His statement of truth tended to mislead, but still what he said *was* true, and hence was not strictly speaking a falsehood.

Yet the real issue, if it were of sufficient importance to enquire into, would be, 'Was Mr. Carroll, at the time when the Rev. Mr. Scott's letter was dated, an editor of the *Pacific*?'

I affirm that I was, and whilst the charge of falsehood cannot be technically maintained, I am sure that no moral and unprejudiced man will feel that I intended to do

Mr. Brayton the slightest injustice, that I spoke hastily, or that I did wrong to attack even a clergyman, whom I verily believed could be reached in no other way.

The moment the advertisement in question appeared in print, (it was hastily written under feeling,) I saw its disrespectful nature and resolved to change it as I did, and, moreover, I apologized to the Rev. Mr. Scott for the offence.

W. CARROLL.

## B.

As this pamphlet will be sent elsewhere than to different parts of this city, some explanation may be desirable:

The Rev. Wm. A. Scott is the pastor of Calvary Presbyterian [O. S.] Church. He is a learned man, and a traveler. He preaches to the largest and most fashionable audience in San Francisco, and in the most elegant and spacious building of the kind in the city. He is greatly admired and loved of his numerous friends, and is as bitterly hated and maligned by his enemies and the common people. He does his own thinking; is bold as Napoleon; just as Brutus; decided and prompt as Peter; firm and determined as Andrew Jackson; generous as "Old Zack," and, withal, as sensitive as a woman, and duly aristocratic.

He has a wonderful power of packing thought into a small compass, and every extended utterance betokens profundity and depth, as well as extensive reading and research, not only in the realms of fact and nature, but of ideality and poetry, as well as in the less inviting, but more fruitful and useful fields, of mental and governmental philosophy.

His very name, in San Francisco, is a type for greatness, learning, solidity, vigor and virtue.

The Rev. I. H. Brayton is the principal editor of the *Pacific*, a weekly, religious newspaper, and, till recently, also of the *Daily Evening Post*. He is a gentlemanly, mild, sensitive, backward, affectionate, womanly little creature, of large ideality, and a metaphysical build of mind. Thinks a great deal (but perhaps not too much) of the opinions of others; is just, cautious, sincere and liberal, inclining even to generosity.

He has lived, hitherto, battling against the coldness of a christian world, from whom warmth was both expected and due. Contact and intercourse with business men has worn off a good deal of the natural beauty, of a poetical trust in God and truth, and *patience*, or "pandence," has become a large ingredient in his character; so that he is not exactly a womanly creature by nature, but a practical man from hard experience. In favorable circumstances he would be the idol of a church as a pastor, and would doubtless do good.

Intellectually, by the side of the Rev. Mr. Scott, he is looked upon as a youth, but in this direction he is on the popular side. Mr. Scott, however, is sustained by a liberal congregation, despite of the fact that they are opposed to his views on the great political question of the State.

W. Carroll is an assumed name of the Assayer of the United States Mint in San Francisco, who, to oblige the Rev. I. H. Brayton (and at the same time improve himself by the mental exercise) consented to become an editor of the *Pacific*, and afterwards, in the *Daily Evening Post*, bestowing gratuitously most of his leisure time upon his editorial positions; his authoritative province being the school and juvenile department of the papers. Whilst young (twenty-five years of age), ardent, impetuous and theoretical, he is sincere and bold. He counts little on precedent, and feels ambitious to prove by action, that true theories *may* be, and therefore *ought* to be reduced to fact and practice in every department of life, in government, law, politics, religion, society and education.

Having been ungratefully treated by the Rev. I. H. Brayton, he withdrew from his amateur relations to the *Pacific* and *Evening Post*, and expects in a short time to start a new evening paper, called "THE PEOPLE'S PAPER."

## C.

This lecture was about three hours in delivery. Human nature could not endure it. Conscious of the fact, Mr. Carroll, at intervals, urged his audience to retire, but to the last minute an audience of about 500 remained.



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